

INTELLOFAX 4

FORM NO. 51-AAA
FEB 1952

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

SECURITY INFORMATION

25X1

INFORMATION REPORT

REPORT NO.

CD NO.

COUNTRY Rumania

DATE DISTR. 5 March 1952

SUBJECT Zhdanov Cadre School in Bucharest

NO. OF PAGES 5

DATE OF INFO. NO. OF ENCLS.
(LISTED BELOW)PLACE ACQUIRED SUPPLEMENT TO
REPORT NO.NOT CIRCULATE
25X1

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS INFORMATION AFFECTING THE NATIONAL DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES, WITHIN THE MEANING OF TITLE 18, SECTIONS 793 AND 794, OF THE U.S. CODE, AS AMENDED. ITS TRANSMISSION OR REVELATION OF ITS CONTENTS TO OR RECEIPT BY AN UNAUTHORIZED PERSON IS PROHIBITED BY LAW. THE REPRODUCTION OF THIS FORM IS PROHIBITED.

25X1

THIS IS UNEVALUATED INFORMATION

1. Organized in 1948, the Andrei A. Zhdanov school, named after the former chief of the Cominform, is under the direct control of the Rumanian Politburo. Its organization coincided with the break in Yugoslav-Cominform relations, when the headquarters of the Cominform were set up in Bucharest. The school is located at 78 Tolbukhin Boulevard, Bucharest. It is carefully guarded against outsiders and the curious. Officially, the purpose of the school is to train Rumanian Communist Party officials, Army Political Commissars and security (MVD) agents. Picked graduates are usually sent to Moscow where they, ostensibly, receive special training in sabotage and espionage. Some are also trained as Red Army intelligence agents. Only young Communist Party activists, mostly stakhanovists, are admitted to the Zhdanov school. The majority of these must have some industrial or technical training (in steel, coal mining, electricity, et cetera) and are required to continue their industrial training even while at school. About 15 per cent of the "Zhdanov" trainees are active officers of the various security organs of the Rumanian Army and the Secret Police. In addition to the Zhdanov school, there are two other special schools in Rumania. The Stefan Gheorghiu school trains primarily Party bureaucrats, Communist organizers, local Party secretaries, and trade union officials. The other school is the school attached to Ana Pauker's Foreign Ministry. But these do not have the same status as the Zhdanov school where the teaching staff includes Russians, Cominform chiefs and prominent members of the Rumanian Politburo such as Vasile Luca, Ana Pauker and others. Yudin, Soviet Secretary General of the Cominform, is a frequent lecturer at the school.
2. Although organized in 1948, the school did not begin to function properly until the beginning of 1950 when the period of training was increased from two years to three years. But the first year is only preparatory. During the first year the trainees are tested for general ability, special aptitude, loyalty to the Party and to the Cominform. In 1948, 150 young Communists were selected for the Zhdanov school. However, 120 were sent back to continue their training the

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

STATE EV	X	NAVY	X	NSRB		DISTRIBUTION	Document No. 9
ARMY	X	AIR	X	FBI			Class. Changed To: TS S 6
							Auth.: HR 10-2
							Date: 158925
							By:

25X1

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

-2-

following year. The majority of the Zhdanov trainees (there are a few exceptions) must have either a labor or peasant background. As a rule they are sons of unskilled workers or landless peasants who now have a higher standard of living than they had before the Communist seizure of power. They are young workers and Party activists who have been withdrawn from work in the plants, factories and other industrial enterprises where they worked and relieved of their local Party duties. But they are retained on the payroll of their original factory or plant. No applications are accepted for the Zhdanov school. Its existence, in fact, is known only to a limited circle of Central Committee members. Recruiting of prospective trainees is done in the following manner.

- a. Five or six months before the beginning of the new school year the Politburo requests the twenty-eight Party regional organizations to submit lists of a fixed number of candidates depending on the size and importance of the region. Each regional organization (Regional) transmits this order to the district organization (Raion). There are ten to fifteen Raions in each Regional. The Raions, in turn, transmit the order to the Party Committees within their jurisdiction. The secretaries of the Party Committees, together with the secretaries of the Base Organizations (Organizatiuni de Baza), draw up a list of candidates for the Zhdanov school.
- b. The lists are forwarded to the Verification Section of the District Organization (Raion) where they are thoroughly checked.
- c. If approved by the District, the lists are sent to the Verification and Cadres sections of the regional organization (Regional) where they are again checked.
- d. The regional organization then calls the candidates to appear before a three-man commission. The candidates have no prior knowledge of the fact that they were recommended for the Zhdanov school. They have absolutely no idea why they were summoned to the region.
- e. Examination by the three-man commission may last many hours and sometimes several days. If the commission is satisfied, the candidate is asked whether he would like to attend a Party school. Neither the name of the school nor the duration of the course or the conditions under which he is to study are disclosed as yet to the candidate.
- f. His bulky file is then sent to the Verification and Cadres section of the Central Committee in Bucharest. After having completed its own inquiries, the Central Committee sends a special commission to the regional organization to which the candidate is attached. There, on the spot, the candidate is again examined and the findings of the previous commission checked.
- g. The file is again returned to the Verification section of the Central Committee. Now the candidate is summoned to the Central Committee in Bucharest where he is finally told of the "great honor" the Party has conferred on him by sending him to the Zhdanov school. Officers of the Security Police (Securitate) and Army intelligence may skip some of the stages in the examination.

(Note: The Rumanian Communist Party is organized into twenty-eight regional (Regional) organizations. These are not to be confused with the regions into which Rumania is geographically split up for administrative purposes. Each regional organization of the Communist Party is, in turn, divided into ten to fifteen Districts (Raion). Each large industrial enterprise, university, ministry, et cetera has several Base Organizations (Organizatiuni de Baza). In turn, each Organizatiuni de Baza has several Party Committees (Comitetul de Partid) consisting of five to seven Party activists. Each organizational unit of the Communist Party has a Verification Section. In the Base Organizations and Party Committees this job is usually assumed by the secretaries.)

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

25X1

-3-

3. In the selection of a prospective trainee of the Zhdanov school, social background is of primary importance. A preferred candidate is one who has no "intellectual past" and who nurtures some bitterness against society. This bitterness may be due to economic, racial or personal reasons. (The candidate may have been a member of a persecuted minority group like the Hungarians of Transylvania, et cetera.) Neither he nor his family are supposed to have been active politically before 1945 -- not even as Communists. This applies especially to prewar and wartime Communists. The candidate's reasons for joining the Party, the zeal he displayed at his work, past and present attitudes towards the USSR (an especially important point) and the manner in which he has followed the Party line are carefully studied and weighed. The references of each candidate must cover his life from the age of ten. For each five-year period he must submit references of three different Party members. For the period during which he himself has been a Party member he must submit even a greater number of testimonials. No limit is set.

4. No tuition is paid at the Zhdanov school. Supplies, books and other items are free. The trainee is continued on the payroll of the enterprise from which he was detached. Individual incomes thus vary. Thirty per cent of the trainee's total earnings is deducted for food and lodging. Personal and family needs are given special consideration. The Zhdanov school, as already indicated, is a tightly closed and guarded institution. Administratively, it is linked directly to the Politburo. Leone Rautu, chief of the Agitation and Propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Rumanian Communist Party, is the official director of the school. But the actual and active boss is Grigore Kotowsky who represents the Cominform. Little is known about Kotowsky. He speaks Rumanian with a Slavic accent. There are several versions about his background. The most probable one is that he was born in Bessarabia and served in the Spanish International Brigade. He then went to the USSR and returned to Rumania after the war as a captain of the Red Army. Some of the instructors are: Solom Stirbu (subject: Dialectical Materialism); I. Rachmut (Economics); Roman (History) and Borgeanu (History and Philosophy). Many hours are devoted to the study of Russian and other languages. The German, French, Spanish, and English languages (in the last year), are assigned rather than chosen by the individual trainee. The study of Russian has precedence and four instructors (women) are assigned to teach the language. An important subject, also, is world politics -- political trends from 1939 to the present. The main themes are colonialism, economic imperialism and the policies of the USSR. Hatred for the West is taught persistently and systematically. Indeed, [redacted] it is not opposition to a class enemy that the trainees are fed day-in-day-out, but "hatred beyond human reason." "A good Communist must be capable first of all of unlimited hatred for the imperialist powers," Vasile Luca said in one of his lectures at the Zhdanov school. But even among the "imperialist powers" and class enemies for whom one is to have unlimited hatred, the United States and its Fascist ally, Tito, are singled out as the main enemy. Next on the list are the Socialists -- "the Social Democratic lackeys of imperialism." On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the Great Stalin are the great benefactors. The Soviet Union is superior to every other country in every respect. Everything made in or accomplished by the Soviet Union is perfect, ideal. A feeling of inferiority towards the USSR is continuously instilled in the trainees. Ana Pauker once told the trainees what the Soviet Union gave Rumania in terms of goods, technical help, et cetera. One of the trainees, an Army officer, remarked: "But we also give the Soviet Union things in exchange for the deliveries to us." Next day he disappeared from the school without a trace. Hatred for the West is the main subject of the visiting Soviet, Cominform and Rumanian Politburo dignitaries. Only Grigore Kotowsky knows in advance when "Comrade X" will lecture and what his subject will be. The trainees are kept in the dark until the actual arrival of the visiting dignitary. The date and hour are also kept secret. Only a few minutes before the lecture is to begin are the trainees told the name of the lecturer. Strong security measures

25X1

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

25X1

-4-

are taken on such occasions. In addition to the regular security agents who constantly guard the entrance to the school, the dignitary arrives with two or more "assistants." One of the assistants enters the lecture hall while the other one guards the door on the outside. Visits by dignitaries are always an occasion for the trainees to display their enthusiasm for the USSR and their loyalty to the Party leaders. The lectures end with trainees chanting together in Russian "Slava Stalinu" (Glory to Stalin). It is the task of the permanent staff of the school to point out during regular study periods the "significance" of the remarks made by the dignitary in question and the "scientific value" of the view he expressed. In addition to the permanent instructors, there are fifteen study supervisors. These assist the instructors, but their main task is to supervise seminar work. Most of the work at the Zhdanov school is done in seminars with about twenty trainees to each seminar. The "supervisors" are, as a rule, Party stalwarts chosen because of their Party "record" rather than their intellectual attainments. Every seminar also has a responsible leader recruited from among the students. Usually he is a member of the school's "Party Committee."

5. The trainees are subjected to a rigorous discipline:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 6 -- 6:40 a.m. | Physical exercise. Usually (even in winter) the trainees exercise out-of-doors. The exercise is of a strenuous type. |
| 7 -- 7:30 a.m. | Breakfast: coffee with milk or tea, bread, butter, jam. |
| 7:30 -- 8:30 a.m. | Discussion of the daily press. Each trainee must subscribe to <u>Scanteia</u> , chief Communist daily, <u>Contemporarul</u> , intellectual organ of the Communist Party, <u>For a Lasting Peace...</u> , Cominform organ, and <u>Pravda</u> . |
| 8:30 -- 1:30 | Seminar work. |
| 1:30 -- 2:00 p.m. | Lunch: soup, meat and vegetables, dessert. Mineral water for the sick. No wine or alcoholic drinks. |
| 2:00 -- 4:30 p.m. | Time off. Actually, this period is devoted to "practical work" carried out by the first-year trainees at the 23 August metal factory (formerly Malaxa), and by the second-year trainees at the Republica metal factory. |
| 4:30 -- 8:30 p.m. | Seminar work. |
| 8:30 -- 9:00 p.m. | Supper: Meat, vegetables and dessert were served three times a week. |
| 9:00 -- 10:00 p.m. | Cultural hour: (literature or courses in general culture.) |
| 10:00 p.m. to midnight | Study period. During these hours the trainees complete their "homework." Through not compulsory, most of the trainees prepare their "homework" between 10 p.m. and midnight simply because they have no other free period. Between 10 p.m. and midnight are also the hours for political meetings. |

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

25X1

-5-

At midnight, the trainees must go to sleep. They sleep six to ten persons in one room. Weekends are technically free. But on Sundays the trainees are usually required to attend concerts or art exhibitions of a political nature. They must also see a film especially chosen by the Director. On holidays they must participate in demonstrations (1 May, the November Revolution, et cetera). During the New Year vacations the trainees get eight days off. But they must spend five days working in the Propaganda and Agitation section of the regional or district organization of the Party. The summer vacation lasts from 15 July to 15 September. But during the summer vacation the trainees must work twenty-five days in places designated by the school. During the summer of 1951, the trainees were sent to two places: the mining area of Valea Jiului and the Danube-Black Sea Canal now under construction. [redacted] the strenuous, almost superhuman program of the Zhdanov school is especially designed to break down the will of the trainee and "neutralize his personality." No time at all is given for personal reflection or contact with other students. During the first year, especially, practically every trainee complains of fatigue. This feeling of fatigue amounts almost to an obsession. In November 1950, Kotovsky had to call a special meeting at which he violently berated the trainees for their "fatigue psychosis." He pointed out -- and this is the usual procedure -- that the students had no right to complain about the hard conditions since the Party had given them all facilities for study, whereas the Communist leaders did their studying in "capitalist prisons" under "inhuman conditions." The Party leaders transformed their prisons into "Communist universities." He also told the students that they were a privileged, chosen group. Privilege and fear is the club that the Politburo holds over the trainees. Time and again they are told that their fate is tied to the Party. Should the Party collapse (the Party which has honored them and rescued them and their families from economic misery and insecurity), they will be "liquidated" by the "reactionaries." At the same time, the trainees live in perpetual fear of their fellow trainees. Personal relations among them are strongly discouraged. The formation of clubs or student groups is discouraged. These are denounced as anti-Party and "bourgeois." But every encouragement is given to personal rivalry, denunciation and "self-criticism." As a result, there is a spirit of general mistrust among the trainees. A good Communist is one who criticizes at seminar sessions the non-Communist attitude or statement of some other trainee. Those who fail to criticize are accused of lacking a "combative Communist spirit." In the end everyone is forced to engage in denunciation and self-criticism if he is to survive. Those who spy on their fellow trainees are secretly promised special rewards. By the time the trainee is through with the Zhdanov school he is a completely "neutral personality," a depersonalized cog in the Communist machine ready to do anything on orders from the Party. Some become dangerous and desperate fanatics, but not all; some become adept in hiding their true feelings. [redacted] at least 10 per cent of Zhdanov trainees hate the Party with an intense hatred. They will fight for a change at the first opportunity even if it entails their own liquidation. This group is not anti-Communist, but it is strongly anti-Soviet.

25X1

25X1

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY